1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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793 female one may not marry or even have a lover. When a woman is chosen as *Ten'dan' poka*, she will leave husband and children and go to Zoka to enter on her work, and the cows which her husband paid for her will not be claimed, as his wife has been chosen by the land, and if her husband claimed back the cows, he would die. I myself left home just a year ago.' The Chief, who was present when this woman was speaking, said, 'We caught her and put the calabash and stalk in her hand, without telling her; she could not refuse; it was the word of our *Taba* (ancestor). Her predecessor was my own wife; she was taken from me.'

She continued: 'Female *Ten'dan'* are chosen from one family; my clan is *loa* (a red squirrel?)'.

This woman's small girl attendant told me she would be the *Ten'dan's* servant until she reached puberty and married, when another young girl would replace her.

793 I again asked the female *Ten'dan'*, if *Ten'dan'* owned the land. She
423 said, 'No, not really, the grove does, *Ten'dan'* are only children of the *tengwan* (grove)'.

Some Further Notes regarding Ten'dan' and the Land:

'In olden times, the *Ten'dan'* gave the Chief land to farm as well as lesser people. He, the *Ten'dan'*, would point out the place to make the farm and call the name of his grove, saying, "So-and-so wants to eat, help him". The *Ten'dan'* will turn over the first sod, and at that place, *kyili* seed will be planted, the leaves of which are called *bito*. When this farm bears its first crops, and thereafter each year, a basket of corn, a pot of beer, and some fowls are given to the *Ten'dan'* by its owner. As soon as land is totally abandoned, it reverts to the *Ten'dan'*, but as long as it is being cultivated, he cannot take it back, unless its owner offends. The *Ten'dan'* may give land to a stranger provided he
● [B26] lives in the *teya*. Before a smith used iron from the land, he would make a knife, an axe, and a nail called *pin kpa*,[1] and give them to the *Ten'dan'* before doing any work for others.'

The Godan: 'I am called *Ten'dan'*, there is one called *Godan* who wanders and kills meat. His work is to take people to the bush to hunt. When a beast is killed, he receives a foreleg; the remainder goes to the head of the section. The *Godan* "owns" the men whom he takes to the bush to hunt; he does not own any land. If one of my own section

[1] Used by leather workers.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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in their spare time, and chiefly in the dry season when there is no farm work. They are exceedingly few in numbers—one or two in a settlement—and their work is of mediocre quality. The only blacksmiths in Taleland are about a dozen men of the Sakpee clan of Tenzugu, and only one of them derives a substantial part of his livelihood from his craft. A leather-worker or two, a potteress, a sewer of caps, may be found in almost every settlement. Some men and women who are more skilful than their neighbours at making articles of common use such as hen-coops, baskets, bows, adze-shafts, &c., are in the habit of making a few for sale every dry season. The only specialized occupation is that of the diviner, and it, also, is a part-time occupation in addition to farming, though a popular diviner, making perhaps a shilling or eighteen pence a day, may farm less land than he normally would. Diviners are numerous. There may be as many as ten or twenty in a large settlement, but only one or two of them will earn more than a few pence a day by divining.

British Rule and Contact with Western Civilization

Until the time of my first visit to Taleland the natives had been very little influenced by the agencies of British government and of European civilization that are active in these parts. The main roads skirt Taleland so that the flow of north- and south-bound traffic by-passes the largest part of the area. Nevertheless, these roads have served to open up Taleland to a wider sphere of intercourse with other parts of the Gold Coast than was possible twenty years before. Political and social conditions made it impossible for people to travel freely beyond a radius of a few miles from their own settlements in former days. To-day young men and even women go in increasing numbers every year, in the dry season, to Tamale, Kumasi, or the coast towns. Some go to visit friends or relatives, some carry fowls for sale, others go as seasonal labourers, and others go to work abroad for a term of years. In 1923 the Administration of the Northern Territories reluctantly agreed to assist in the recruitment of labour for the mines and cocoa farms of Ashanti and the colony. The experiment failed and was soon abandoned. Nowadays labour migration from the Northern Territories is entirely voluntary. It has become linked up with the normal economic life of the natives. Whereas, in former years, a young man moved out temporarily to the periphery of settlement on account of a shortage of land in his natal community, nowadays he often goes to Ashanti or the mines as a labourer. The cessation of agricultural activity in the dry season makes it easy for a young man to get away for a few months without loss to the routine of farming.

Economic incentives, which the natives sum up as 'the desire for money', therefore lie behind much labour migration in the Northern Territories. And the value of money may be gauged from the fact that a hen could be bought for 6*d*. to 1*s*., a cow in good condition for £2. 10*s*., and a dish of porridge enough for a satisfying meal for 1/10 of a penny in any market in 1934–7. But there are other incentives as well. Curiosity, and the desire to see the places and experience the life which those who return from a stay abroad describe to their fellows at home, stimulate many a youth to go south for a short or long period. And friction with

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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vanity apart, they do require ample storage-room for the large quantities of clothes, the saddlery and trappings of their horses, the innumerable odds and ends of European origin, and many articles of native production which they have accumulated by purchase or gift. Their good fortune is exceptional. Others content themselves with small and modest private rooms. Leatherworkers and blacksmiths also often have private rooms where they keep their tools and the materials of their craft.

No special provision is made for young children or girls. They live in their mothers' rooms. An unmarried young man usually has a special room of his own, essentially a sleeping-room (*doo*), in his mother's *dug*; and if there are several adolescent boys in a family a *doo* may be built for them in one of the women's *dugɔt*.

The construction of the dwelling-house shows graphically the division of the domestic family into two complementary spheres. On the one hand, we have the sphere in which the patricentral *yir* predominates; on the other, that in which the matricentral *dug* has priority. It is the line of cleavage between descent from the father (*ba dɔɣam*) and descent from the mother (*ma dɔɣam*), principles which are antithetical in form but complementary in function in the domestic organization. Maternal origin supplies the canon of differentiation within the family, paternal descent the principle of integration. In the polygynous joint family, which is the natives' ideal domestic unit, the constituent *dugɔt* are relatively autonomous in relation to one another, and in certain respects even mutually opposed. The *yir* combines them into a single integral unit, but they are not swallowed up; they retain their specific identity according to maternal origin. The *yir*, then, is the complementary factor to the *dug*; it is also the synthesis of a group of *dugɔt* at a higher level of organization. This, as has been shown in our previous book, is both the structural model and the social matrix of the lineage system.

The Developmental Cycle of the Joint Family

We have found it convenient to fix our analysis of the Tale homestead by reference to the simplest kind of independent domestic unit. But the elementary family, as we have already remarked, is neither the ideal nor the most common type of independent domestic unit in Taleland; for the typical substratum of a domestic group is not the individual breadwinner but an effective minimal lineage.[1] The domestic group grows, changes, and dissolves with the growth cycle of this lineage, and a particular elementary family is only an episode in this cycle. The structure of the Tale family cannot be divorced from its existence in time. We have to examine it as a process. At any given time we find domestic families at every stage of development in a Tale community.

[1] Cf. p. 9 above for a definition of this unit. A full analysis of its constitution is given in *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xii.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

dual's transition from the child's world to the adult's—e.g. the so-184
called negative phase or adolescent instability which has been alleged 155
to be universal in our society.[1] It is unknown in Tale society.[2] As between adults and children, in Tale society, the social sphere is differentiated only in terms of relative capacity. All participate in the same culture, the same round of life, but in varying degrees, corresponding to the stage of physical and mental development. Nothing in the universe of adult behaviour is hidden from children or barred to them. They are actively and responsibly part of the social structure, of the economic system, the ritual and ideological system. Psychological effects of fundamental importance for Tale education follow from this. For it means that the child is from the beginning oriented towards the same reality as its parents and has the same physical and social material upon which to direct its cognitive and instinctual endowment. The interests, motives, and purposes of children are identical with those of adults, but at a simpler level of organization. Hence the children need not be coerced to take a share in economic and social activities. They are eager to do so. This does not mean that Tale children are altogether passive in the hands of their parents. Temperamental idiosyncrasies in children strike the observer at a glance. Tantrums, disobedience, destructiveness, and other aggressive outbursts occur sometimes. Among youths and adults misfits and incompetents can be found. But even they live for the same ends and have the same objective values and interests as the majority.

The unity of the social sphere is the more marked in Tale society 184
since they have almost no social stratification within a genealogical 565
or local community. There are no class or rank cleavages, nor highly organized and exclusive economic, political, or ritual associations cutting across the local, genealogical segmentation; and the social division of labour is rudimentary. The pattern of existence is the same for all members of a given community, varying only in texture or tone from individual to individual. The social sphere is differen- 184
tiated only as between communities which are generally localized clans 565
or lineages. Thus, the blacksmith lineage of Sakpee is unique, as 326 ● 463

[1] See G. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 429–32, for a critical discussion of this question.

[2] Cf. also Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

5: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937)1938 FE11 Tallensi FE11

compared with its neighbours, in respect to those components of its culture connected with its craft. Only sons of that lineage may be taught the craft of the smith; and even those who through lack of inclination or ability do not learn it share the ideology associated with it and submit to ritual and moral constraints in virtue of this. Because of their traditional craft the men of Sakpee do not eat the hedgehog until they have successfully made a piece of ironwork; and when they were driven from the Tong Hills, abandoned their homes and property but carried with them the sacred anvils. Similarly, the social sphere of the Hill Tallis contrasts in many respects with that of their Namoo neighbours on account of their different ritual systems.

Yet it is necessary to note that these differences do not detract from the essential homogeneity of the social sphere for all the Tallensi. They are differences in the substance of some cultural definitions, not in the forms and functions of institutions. The totemic taboos of the Hill Tallis are exactly paralleled by the prohibitions of first-born children eating the domestic fowl among the Namoos. What their sacred groves and initiation rites mean to the former, their first ancestor, sacred drums, and the chiefship mean to the latter. The psychological substratum of social behaviour is the same in both groups and in their associated clans, with a sole exception. The initiation cult of the Hill Tallis does give a bias to their ideology and so to their social sphere which the Namoos lack.[1] In our present inquiry these differences may be neglected since the dynamic relationships of the individual to his community are the same everywhere in Taleland. Whether a child is trained as a blacksmith or as a farmer, and whether he is inducted into the ritual and ideology of the ancestor cult alone, or into that of the sacred groves as well, the principles are the same.

This background will be continuously discerned in our study of Tale education. But a few clinching observations may be cited here to show that the child is not merely a supernumerary element of his society but thinks and feels himself to be a part of it.

1. I was walking with Samane and his two small sons (8–9 years)[2]

[1] See M. Fortes, 'Ritual Festivals and Social Cohesion in the Hinterland of the Gold Coast', *American Anthropologist*, vol. xxxviii, no. 4.

[2] All ages are estimated, but the probable error of such an estimate is at least 12 months.

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

412 mounted on a similar handle. Hoe-blades are now made from scrap iron, mainly parts of old motor cars and old railway sleepers; [177] a hoe is sold in the market for 2d. or 3d., which is well within the purchasing power of everyone. It is not many years, however, ● [326] since hoes were made from locally smelted iron; they were then not so easy to come by and some of the poorer farmers used hoes of hard wood.

241 The coarse nature of the soil enables a shallow cultivation to be given effectively with these light implements after a fall of rain. 134 When the ground is dry and hard, cultivation is very laborious and it is frequently neglected at a time when needed most. This is often the case early in the season when precarious rains make a soil-mulch desirable.

Preparation for Planting.

243 Two of the most important crops, early millet and guinea corn, are sown after the second big rain of the year, this is generally in the first week of April. The soil, which has been left untilled since the burn-over after the previous year's harvest, is very hard until humidity rises with the approaching rain, and there is very little time to do any preliminary cultivation. On the majority of farms the only preparation for sowing is to collect the remains of the previous season's crops into heaps and to burn, and sometimes to carry-out manure; very occasionally a little hoeing is done.

Planting Major Crops.

412 On the morning following the big planting rain the whole 241 countryside turns out to do one of its few really full day's work on the farm for the year. Men walk over the farm with stout sticks about 6′ long, cut from "tcheea" (Nankani) (Anoegeissus leiocarpus), or "gopelaga" (Nankani) (Acacia sieberriana), sharpened at the end to a flat point, resembling a narrow-bladed oar; or sometimes fitted with a worn hoe blade. With these sticks, holes are prodded at random 2′ 6″ to 3′ apart in the moist earth; 241 the soil being ejected with a twist of the wrists. Women and children follow the men with the seed of early millet and cowpeas mixed in a calabash. The calabash is held in the hand between the third and fourth fingers, and three to six seeds of early millet,